

Message Text

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R 142230 Z JUN 73

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8430

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

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E. O. 11652: N/A

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SUBJ: SC DEBATE ON ME: AMB SCALI' S STATEMENT IN SC ON JUNE 14

FOLLOWING STATEMENT GIVEN BY AMB SCALI JUNE 14 IN SC:

MR. PRESIDENT, MY GOVERNMENT VIEWS THIS MEETING OF THE COUNCIL AS A CHALLENGE AND AN OPPORTUNITY. IT IS A CHALLENGE TO DEAL RESPONSIBLY WITH ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT -- AND ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT-- OF THE PROBLEMS FACING THE WORLD COMMUNITY. IT IS AN OPPORTUNITY OF A KIND WE HAVE NOT HAD SINCE NOVEMBER, 1967, WHEN THE COUNCIL LAST MET TO REVIEW THE WHOLE PROBLEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST. IT IS THUS MORE THAN JUST AN OCCASION TO HEAR THE COMPLAINTS OF ONE SIDE AGAINST THE OTHER. IT IS AN OPPORTUNITY TO CREATE CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH, AT LONG LAST, ARAB AND ISRAELI MIGHT ENGAGE IN A GENUINE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

IN THE MORE THAN FIVE AND ONE- HALF YEARS SINCE THE
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COUNCIL LAST DEALT WITH THE ISSUE IN A COMPREHENSIVE MANNER, MANY WORDS HAVE BEEN SPOKEN AND MANY RESOLUTIONS PASSED. IN SOME WAYS, THE PROBLEM IS MORE DIFFICULT TODAY THAN IT WAS FIVE AND ONE- HALF YEARS AGO. TIME HAS A WAY OF GIVING AN

AURA OF PERMANENCE TO WHAT ONCE SEEMED TRANSITORY. THIS MEETING SHOULD BE FIRST OF ALL, THEREFORE, AN OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM THAT WE DO NOT CONSIDER THE PRESENT SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST EITHER NATURAL OR PERMANENT. WE SHOULD LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT IT IS NEITHER NATURAL NOR PERMANENT.

TIME ALSO HAS A WAY OF SUBTLY ALTERING THE WAY WE PERCEIVE PROBLEMS AND THEIR SOLUTIONS. THIS MEETING IS THEREFORE AN OPPORTUNITY AS WELL TO REVIEW OUR PERCEPTIONS, TO SEE WHETHER THEY HAVE CHANGED OVER THE PAST XCBE AND ONE- HALF YEARS. THIS MEETING SHOULD BE AN OPPORTUNITY, IN SHORT, TO RECAPTURE THE HOPE AND TO REAFFIRM THE RESOLVE WHICH INSPIRED THE COUNCIL ON NOVEMBER 22, 1967 TO GIVE ITS UNANIMOUS APPROVAL TO RESOLUTION 242. THAT DECISION WAS RECOGNIZED AT THE TIME AS A LANDMARK IN THE LONG HISTORY OF THIS PROBLEM IN THE UNITED NATIONS. IT REMAINS A LANDMARK TODAY.

RESOLUTION 242 REFLECTED THE COUNCIL'S VIEW THAT THE TIME HAD COME TO MOVE EXPEDITIOUSLY TOWARD A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AFTER THREE WARS WITH THEIR TOLL OF HUMAN TRAGEDY AND DEVASTATION AND THEIR THREAT TO WORLD PEACE. THE RESOLUTION RECOGNIZED THAT SUCH A PEACE MUST BE BASED ON A JUST SETTLEMENT NOT ONLY OF THE PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF THE HOSTILITIES OF JUNE 1967, BUT ALSO OF THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE ARAB/ ISRAELI CONFLICT AS THEY HAVE EXISTED NOW FOR OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

WHAT WERE THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS WITH WHICH WE BEGAN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN 1967?

FIRST, IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THAT THE COUNCIL, IN CALLING FOR A CEASEFIRE TO END THE FIGHTING IN JUNE 1967, DID NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE OUTBREAK OF THAT FIGHTING. NOR DID IT CALL FOR UNCONDITIONAL ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL.

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SECOND, IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THE NATURE AND ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF RES 242 AS THEY WERE GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD AT THE TIME. THE RES WAS THE RESULT OF COMPROMISE BY ALL CONCERNED, AND THIS MEANS THAT ANY SETTLEMENT BASED UPON IT MUST REFLECT THAT SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE. RES 242 DID NOT DEFINE THE TERMS OF SETTLEMENT. IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE RESOLUTION ITSELF, IT DEFINED A SET OF " PROVISIONS AND PRINCIPLES" WHICH CONSTITUTE A FRAMEWORK FOR THE TERMS OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT. IT IS ONLY FAIR TO NOTE THAT THE TERMS TO BE NEGOTIATED MUST THEREFORE BE CONSISTENT WITH THOSE PROVISIONS AND PRINCIPLES-- NOT JUST WITH SOME OF THEM, BUT WITH ALL OF THEM TAKEN TOGETHER. IF THE

TERMS OF A SETTLEMENT DO NOT MEET THAT TEST, THEY CANNOT
IN OUR VIEW FORM PART OF THE JUST AND LASTING PEACE WE
SEEK. TOO OFTEN ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER HAS SOUGHT TO
EMPHASIZE CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF RES 242 WHILE IGNORING OTHERS.

WHAT ARE THE MAIN PROVISIONS AND PRINCIPLES OF
RES 242.

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FIRST, IT INCLUDES IN ITS PREAMBLE " THE INADMISSIBILITY
OF THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY BY WAR AND THE NEED TO
WORK FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE IN WHICH EVERY STATE
IN THE AREA CAN LIVE IN SECURITY". WE ACCEPT THIS PRINCIPLE
AS IMPORTANT AND SIGNIFICANT.

SECOND, RESOLUTION 242 AFFIRMS THAT PEACE SHOULD
INCLUDE THE APPLICATION OF TWO CO- EQUAL PRINCIPLES; ONE
IS " WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI ARMED FORCES FROM TERRITORIES
OCCUPIED" IN THE 1967 CONFLICT. MY GOVERNMENT

ENDORSES THAT PRINCIPLE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RESOLU-
TION AS A WHOLE, BUT THE PRINCIPLE OF WITHDRAWAL CANNOT
BE SEPARATED FROM THE NEXT BALANCING PARAGRAPH WHICH
AFFIRMS THE PRINCIPLE OF " TERMINATION OF ALL CLAIMS OR
STATES OF BELLIGERENCY AND RESPECT FOR THE ACKNOWLEDGEMENT
OF THE SOVEREIGNTY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND POLITICAL
INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA AND THEIR RIGHT
TO LIVE IN PEACE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES

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FREE FROM THREATS OR ACTS OF FORCE."

THIRD, RESOLUTION 242 AFFIRMS THE NECESSITY FOR GUARANTEEING FREEDOM OF NAVIGATION AND FOR GUARANTEEING THE TERRITORIAL INVIOABILITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF EVERY STATE IN THE AREA. CLEARLY THE SPECIFIC MEASURES BY WHICH THESE IMPORTANT INTERESTS OF THE PARTIES ARE TO BE GUARANTEED MUST BE PART OF THE DETAILED TERMS OF A FINAL SETTLEMENT. THEY MUST BE PART OF THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE.

FOURTH, RESOLUTION 242 AFFIRMS THE NECESSITY FOR ACHIEVING A JUST SETTLEMENT OF THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. THAT, TOO, MUST CLEARLY BE PART OF THE STRUCTURE OF PEACE. MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE CLEAR ON A NUMBER OF OCCASIONS OUR VIEW THAT NO STRUCTURE OF PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST CAN BE JUST AND LASTING IF IT DOES NOT MAKE PROVISION FOR THE LEGITIMATE ASPIRATIONS OF THE PALESTINIANS. IN OUR VIEW, IT IS FOR THE PARTIES TO WORK OUT WHAT THIS MEANS IN SPECIFIC TERMS.

FINALLY, RESOLUTION 242 CALLS FOR AGREEMENT. IN THE CONTEXT OF THIS RESOLUTION, THIS CLEARLY MEANS AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE PARTIES CONCERNED, AND AMBASSADOR JARRING, TO WHOM I WISH TO PAY SPECIAL TRIBUTE TODAY, WAS SUBSEQUENTLY SELECTED TO ASSIST THE PARTIES TO THIS END. MY GOVERNMENT HAS NEVER SEEN HOW SUCH AGREEMENT IS POSSIBLE WITHOUT AN ONGOING, SERIOUS NEGOTIATING PROCESS, EITHER DIRECT OR INDIRECT, WHICH ENGAGES THE PARTIES THEMSELVES. WE BELIEVE EACH MEMBER OF THIS COUNCIL SHOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO ENGAGE IN SUCH A DIALOGUE. THE RECESS IN THESE DELIBERATIONS WHICH NOW LIES BEFORE US PROVIDES EACH AND ALL OF US WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO TAKE STOCK TO CONSIDER WHAT CAN BE DONE TO BRING ABOUT FORWARD MOVEMENT.

IN THE DAYS JUST PASSED, SEVERAL SPEAKERS HAVE ATTRIBUTED TO THE UNITED STATES A CERTAIN PARTISANSHIP IN ITS VIEW OF THE ARAB- ISRAELI DISPUTE. PERHAPS IN DOING SO THESE SPEAKERS WERE REFLECTING A CERTAIN PARTISANSHIP OF THEIR OWN. IN ANY CASE, I WISH TO DISMISS THESE

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ALLEGATIONS WITHOUT EXCEPTION. LIKE MY PREDESSORS, I REPRESENT TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES, AND NOT THOSE OF ANY OTHER SINGLE STATE. IN THE MIDDLE EAST, THE OVERRIDING INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES IS IN PEACE-- PEACE THAT WILL END THE FEAR AND

UNCERTAINTY OF THE PAST QUARTER- CENTURY. THE INTEREST OF THE UNITED STATES DEMANDS WE PRESS AHEAD TO SEEK THAT PEACE-- PEACE THAT WILL ALLOW ARAB AND ISRAELI ALIKE TO RESIDE WITHIN SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES. THE UNITED STATES URGENTLY DESIRES FRIENDLY AND ENDURING RELATIONS WITH ALL OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE MIDDLE EAST.

IN HIS RECENT REPORT TO CONGRESS, PRESIDENT NIXON SOLEMNLY STATED " ... I HAVE SAID THAT NO OTHER CRISIS AREA OF THE WORLD HAS GREATER IMPORTANCE OR HIGHER PRIORITY FOR THE UNITED STATES IN THE SECOND TERM OF MY ADMINISTRATION." MR PRESIDENT, THAT JUDGMENT AND THAT RESOLVE ARE UNCHANGED.

OUR DETERMINATION TO SERVE THIS INTEREST HAS ONLY BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THE PASSAGE OF TIME. THE DISAPPOINTMENTS OF THE PAST HAVE STRENGTHENED THE IMPERATIVE TO SEEK PEACE. NEITHER THE UNITED STATES NOR ANY OTHER POWER OR COMBINATION OF POWERS CAN NEGOTIATE SUCH A PEACE. ONLY THE PARTIES CAN DO THAT. BUT LET THERE BE NO DOUBT ABOUT OUR DETERMINATION TO CONTRIBUTE WHATEVER WE CAN TO THE CREATION OF CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH THE PARTIES CAN ACHIEVE PEACE AND SECURITY THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS.

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WE NOTE, AS OTHER SPEAKERS BEFORE US HAVE DONE, THAT IN TODAY'S WORLD SECURITY MEANS MORE THAN TERRITORY, MORE THAN THE HOARDING OF ARMAMENTS. AND MORE THAN MERELY THE ABSENCE OF BELLIGERENCY.

SECURITY-- REAL SECURITY FOR ALL THE PARTIES-- DEPENDS ON WILLINGNESS TO PUT ASIDE BITTER QUARRELS, PREJUDICES, FEARS AND MISAPPREHENSIONS OF THE PAST AND TO LOOK AHEAD POSITIVELY TO DEVELOPING A BROAD RANGE OF MUTUAL INTERESTS WHICH GIVES EACH PARTY A VESTED INTEREST IN PRESERVING PEACE.

WHAT ARE THE KEY ISSUES WITH WHICH SUCH NEGOTIATIONS MUST COME TO GRIPS? IN SIMPLEST TERMS THEY ARE THE ISSUES OF SOVEREIGNTY AND SECURITY. THE PARTIES MUST FIND A WAY TO RECONCILE THE TWO. ONE ASPECT OF THIS PROBLEM IS THE QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES. THERE ARE MANY STRONGLY HELD VIEWS ABOUT WHERE FINAL BOUNDARIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND ITS NEIGHBORS SHOULD BE DRAWN. RESOLUTION 242 HAS OFTEN BEEN CITED TO SUPPORT ONE VIEW OR ANOTHER. BUT THE FACT IS THAT RESOLUTION 242 IS SILENT ON THE SPECIFIC UNCLASSIFIED

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QUESTION. OF WHERE THE FINAL BORDER SHOULD BE LOCATED. IT NEITHER ENDORSES NOR PRECLUDES-- LET ME REPEAT: NEITHER ENDORSES NOR PRECLUDES-- THE ARMISTICE LINES, WHICH EXISTED BETWEEN ISRAEL, EGYPT, JORDAN AND SYRIA ON JUNE 4, 1967, AS THE FINAL SECURE AND RECOGNIZED BOUNDARIES. EVERYONE KNEW WHEN RESOLUTION 242 WAS APPROVED THAT THIS WAS AN AREA OF AMBIGUITY. THIS WAS PART OF THE COMPROMISE TO WHICH I HAVE REFERRED.

THE CENTRAL MESSAGE OF RESOLUTION 242 IS THAT THERE SHOULD BE A FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN THE NATURE OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE PARTIES WITH EACH OTHER, A CHANGE FROM BELLIGERENCY TO PEACE, FROM INSECURITY TO SECURITY, FROM DISPOSSESSION AND DESPAIR TO HOPE AND DIGNITY FOR THE PALESTINIANS. LET ME SAY AGAIN: IT SEEMS CLEAR TO US- LOGICALLY, POLITICALLY, HISTORICALLY, REALISTICALLY- THAT THE QUESTION OF AGREEMENT OF FINAL BOUNDARIES MUST BE VIEWED IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TOTAL THRUST AND INTENT OF RESOLUTION 242. THIS QUESTION MUST THEREFORE BE RESOLVED AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF REACHING AGREEMENT OF ALL THE COMPLEX FACTORS GOVERNING A NEW RELATIONSHIP AMONG THE PARTIES, TO REPLACE THE DEFINED IN THE 1949 ARMISTICE AGREEMENTS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I HAVE RECALLED THE HISTORY OF OUR EFFORTS IN 1967, NOT TO ARGUE THE PAST, BUT BECAUSE I BELIEVE WE NEED TO RESOTRE OUR PERSPECTIVE AS WE LOOK TO THE FUTURE. MANY SINCERE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE, BY AMBASSADOR JARRING AND BY GOVERNMENTS INCLUDING MY OWN, TO HELP THE PARTIES FIND A WAY TO NEGOTIATE THE DETAILED TERMS OF A FINAL PEACE AGREEMENT. WHATEVER MAY HAVE BEEN THEIR MERITS, NONE SUCCEEDED. WE ARE THERFORE LEFT WITH RESOLUTION 242 AS THE ONLY BASIS THUS FAR ACCEPTED BY BOTH SIDES, WITH REGARD BOTH TO SUBSTANCE AND TO PROCEUDRE. THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES

CONCERNED HAVE ACCEPTED THAT BASIS, EACH IN ITS OWN WAY,
AND THIS IS WHAT MAKES IT UNIQUELY IMPORTANT.

THE COUNCIL FACES A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY. WE CAN
BY OUR ACTIONS WRECK BASIS FOR AGREEMENT WHICH NOW
EXISTS WITH ALL ITS CONSCIOUS AMBIGUITIES, OR WE CAN
PRESERVE THAT BASIS AND TRY TO MOVE FORWARD WITH RENEWED ENERGY.
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MY GOVERNMENT STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT WE MUST TAKE THE LATTER
COURSE. WE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT A FRESH ATTEMPT BY
AMBASSADOR JARRING BASED ON HIS MANDATE IN SECURITY
COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.

WE WILL BE GUIDED BY THIS APPROACH IN JUDGING
WHATEVER PROPOSALS MAY ULTIMATELY BE PALCED BEFORE US.
WE AGREE WITH THOSE WHO HAVE ARGUED THAT THE COUNCIL HAS
A RESPONSIBILITY TO HELP BRING ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF RESOLUTION 242. IMPLEMENTATI

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